

Four years ago, on June 21st, 2001, the United States indicted some of those who were responsible for those murders. While a few of these individuals have been identified, not one has been brought to trial yet. However long it takes, our country must continue to pursue and bring to justice all of those indicted and all those responsible for this murderous, terrorist act against our servicemen and our country. We must not rest until this has been accomplished.

Florida and our Nation lost too many innocent victims for this matter to be brushed aside.

Master Sergeant Michael G. Heiser, of Palm Coast, and Airman First Class Brian W. McVeigh, of DeBary, are 2 of the 19 heroes who left behind loved ones and families in my Congressional District. Their young lives were cut short when they made the ultimate sacrifice for our country. The United States must never rest until those responsible for these deaths are brought to justice.

We know that these surviving relatives and all the others who lost their loved ones continue to feel the pain of great loss. We know that they cannot rest—until justice prevails.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Res. 608 which recognizes the 9th anniversary of the terrorist bombing of the Khobar Towers United States military housing compound near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

On the evening of June 25th, 1996, a truck bomb exploded in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. This terrorist attack killed 19 servicemen of the U.S. Air Force and wounded 300 other Americans. The bomb tore away an entire wall of a high-rise apartment building, part of the Khobar Towers complex housing U.S. Air Force men and women assigned to nearby Dhahran Air Base.

Although their mission was to patrol the skies of southern Iraq and prevent Iraqi planes from threatening the peace of the Middle East, this terrorist attack was a painful demonstration and reminder of the risks Americans in uniform are faced with every day around the world.

Therefore, it is our duty to recognize the service and sacrifice of these men and women and to extend that duty upon our fellow Americans. We ask that all Americans pause and pay tribute to those 19 brave airmen and airwomen who have given their lives so that others throughout the world may live in a free and democratic society. Together, as Americans, we offer our continued sympathies to the families affected by this tragedy. We know that because their loved ones could never be replaced; we will never forget the values they so valiantly died for, nor will we stop until those who are responsible for such a heinous act are brought to justice. Furthermore, it is our responsibility to assure our servicemen and women that wherever in the world they are—we, the Members of Congress, will make them, the defenders of liberty and justice, our highest priority.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, again, I have no more speakers and I would suffice to say that we urge passage of this resolution and the fact that these nomads will forever be protecting us.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISSA). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 188.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE REGARDING THE MASSACRE AT SREBRENICA IN JULY 1995

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 199) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the massacre at Srebrenica in July 1995, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 199

Whereas in July 1995 thousands of men and boys who had sought safety in the United Nations-designated "safe area" of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were massacred by Serb forces operating in that country;

Whereas beginning in April 1992, aggression and ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces, while taking control of the surrounding territory, resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its environs, which the United Nations Security Council designated a "safe area" in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993;

Whereas the UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces blockaded the enclave early in 1995, depriving the entire population of humanitarian aid and outside communication and contact, and effectively reducing the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation;

Whereas beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, ultimately took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995;

Whereas an estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica, including a relatively small number of soldiers, made a desperate attempt to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnian-held territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes;

Whereas the remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica but many of these individuals were randomly seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten, raped, or executed;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses,

held Bosniak males over 16 years of age at collection points and sites in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed and buried the captives in mass graves;

Whereas approximately 20 percent of Srebrenica's total population at the time—at least 7,000 and perhaps thousands more—was either executed or killed;

Whereas the United Nations and its member states have largely acknowledged their failure to take actions and decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent massacre;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control;

Whereas the massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many horrible atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, an estimated 200,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, and the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban centers repeatedly subjected to shelling and sniper attacks;

Whereas Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (done at Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force with respect to the United States on February 23, 1989) defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group";

Whereas on May 25, 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the world's first international war crimes tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;

Whereas nineteen individuals at various levels of responsibility have been indicted, and in some cases convicted, for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, three of whom, most notably Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain at large; and

Whereas the international community, including the United States, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initiated in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) the thousands of innocent people executed at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995, along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, should be solemnly remembered and honored;

(2) the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;

(3) foreign nationals, including United States citizens, who have risked and in some cases lost their lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina while working toward peace should be solemnly remembered and honored;

(4) the United Nations and its member states should accept their share of responsibility for allowing the Srebrenica massacre and genocide to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 by failing to take sufficient, decisive, and timely action, and the United Nations and its member states should constantly seek to ensure that this failure is not repeated in future crises and conflicts;

(5) it is in the national interest of the United States that those individuals who are responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be held accountable for their actions;

(6) all persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should be apprehended and transferred to The Hague without further delay, and all countries should meet their obligations to cooperate fully with the ICTY at all times; and

(7) the United States should continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and friends.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H. Res. 199, the resolution under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in consideration of H. Res. 199, today the House of Representatives brings honor to the men, women

and children of Srebrenica in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a little over 2 weeks, it will have been 10 years since the massacre of approximately 8,000 men and boys from that small town.

Mr. Speaker, renewed attention is focused on this event in light of the recently released video showing members of the Serb paramilitary group, the Scorpions, executing young Bosniak men from Srebrenica. Many Members of this House saw the news coverage of this video, including an interview of a woman who never knew what actually happened to her young son at Srebrenica in July 1995 until she saw the footage on television that he was among those executed. In passing this resolution, we are expressing solidarity with the thousands of women like her, and others, who a decade ago witnessed something so evil that it defies comprehension.

There are four basic motivations, Mr. Speaker, for passing this resolution today. First, there are those who, despite being indicted for genocide, continue to evade justice. Second, some continue to deny that the atrocity even occurred or they contend it was something other than genocide. Third, the international community must learn from its failure to stop slaughter from taking place in a declared safe area, and let us all remember Srebrenica was called a safe haven, especially as we look at similar situations around the globe. Finally, 10 years after Srebrenica, Srebrenica survivors, including many who came to this country as refugees and are now American citizens, still feel the excruciating pain of losing so many of their innocent loved ones.

Mr. Speaker, I want to stress that the resolution notes the direct support that came from the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers. This is no small circle of Milosevic henchmen, as some in Belgrade have claimed. We are referring to an entire regime, albeit an undemocratic one, and not just a few individuals in positions of authority. Moreover, followers of the regime existed in the military, the police and other state institutions, and when it appeared that he was succeeding in a conflict against neighboring peoples, Milosevic actually garnered popular support.

Milosevic has rightfully been in The Hague, as we all know, Mr. Speaker, since 2001, but why have others like Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic remained at large? Why until recently, if not to today, have they benefited from the protection not only from criminal networks but perhaps by segments of the military and the police? To me, that shows broader involvement than has been alleged.

The reference to the followers of the Milosevic regime clearly indicates that we are not referring to those in Serbia, including those in positions of authority today, who had no role in what was happening when they put themselves at risk in opposing Milosevic and his policies in the 1990s.

I would just point out to my colleagues that on the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, which I chaired for several years through the 1990s, we did hold hearings, and many of us made trips to the former Yugoslavia.

In one of those hearings, we heard from Hasan Nuhanovic, a former translator of the U.N. peacekeeping forces in Srebrenica. Hasan was one of those who lost his family and I would just quote very briefly from that testimony that he gave to our committee. He said, "My family, just like thousands of others, was simply handed over to the Serbs in the village of Potocari, 6 kilometers north of Srebrenica on 13 July 1995. They have never been seen since. The Dutch peacekeepers threw my family out of the camp right in front of my eyes. The people, especially the men and boys who were inside the camp, didn't want to leave the relative safety of it."

It goes on to say, "The Dutch refused to tell the refugees inside the camp what was going on with the people outside." He says, "They lied, saying that everything was all right and that the people from inside the camp were also going to be evacuated to the federation territory. The Dutch lied to the refugees inside the camp," he goes on. "The Dutch knew that the men and boys outside the camp were being separated from the women and children and that some of them were even killed right on the spot. They watched the Serbs take away and kill civilians. They did nothing to prevent it."

Mr. Speaker, this resolution remembers those 7- to 8,000 men and boys who were slaughtered in Srebrenica, and it says in a collective voice of the House of Representatives, Democrats and Republicans alike, that we care, we care deeply. We are sorrowful for those who lost their lives, and hopefully never again.

I will insert a Chronicle of Genocide in the RECORD at this point.

CHRONICLE OF GENOCIDE PROLOGUE

The town of Srebrenica is located in eastern Bosnia's Drina River Valley, about 15 kilometers from the Serbian border. In 1991, the town was home to 37,000 inhabitants, including roughly 27,000 Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and 9,000 Serbs. Prior to the outbreak of Yugoslavia's civil war, members of Srebrenica's different ethnic groups lived together for decades without major conflict.

After the end of the Cold War, Srebrenica had its first encounter with conflict in April 1992 when Serb paramilitary forces gained control of the city for several weeks. One month later, Srebrenica was recaptured by Bosnian Muslim fighters from the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By September, Bosnian Muslim forces had succeeded in uniting Srebrenica with the neighboring town of Zepa and increasing the size of the territory under their control to 900 square kilometers. However, the enclave remained isolated from the main Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and strategically vulnerable to advancing Serb forces.

In January 1993, Bosnian Serb troops (which logistically and financially were not

entirely independent from and were supported by Serbian military and police forces) from the self-proclaimed Republika Srpska launched an offensive to retake the Muslim-controlled areas around Srebrenica. After months of fighting, the villages of Konjević Polje and Cerska were captured, severing the connection between Srebrenica and Zepa and reducing the size of the Srebrenica enclave to 150 square kilometers. Bosnians from neighboring areas streamed into the town of Srebrenica, increasing the population to as many as 60,000 people.

When the Commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), French General Philippe Morillon, visited Srebrenica in March 1993, he discovered an overcrowded city beset by siege conditions. The Bosnian Serb troops had destroyed the town's water supply and the population was running short on food, medicine, and other necessities. Before his departure, General Morillon promised residents that Srebrenica was under U.N. protection and that he would never abandon the city's inhabitants.

On April 16, 1993, the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution declaring that "all parties and others treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a 'safe area' that should be free from armed attack or any other hostile act."

The first group of UNPROFOR soldiers arrived in Srebrenica on April 18, 1993 and fresh troops were rotated into the city every six months after that. In January 1995, a battalion from the Netherlands rotated into the enclave. By this time, few supply convoys were reaching the city. In March and April, the Dutch soldiers defending the city observed a build-up of Bosnian Serb troops in the surrounding area. The Drina Corps of the Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) was preparing for a major attack on Srebrenica.

CHRONOLOGY OF GENOCIDE

March 1995—Radovan Karadžić, President of the self-proclaimed Republika Srpska, issues a directive to the Bosnian Serb Army ordering the VRS to "complete the physical separation of Srebrenica from Žepa as soon as possible" and block aid convoys on their way to Srebrenica.

July 2, 1995—Republika Srpska Army General Milenko Živanović signs two orders outlining plans for attacking the enclave and issues the order to various units of the Drina Corps to prepare for combat. The operation is code-named "Krivaja 95."

July 6, 1995—Bosnian Serb forces launch their attack on Srebrenica. The Commander of the city's Dutch battalion, Colonel Karremans, contacts the U.N. General Staff in Sarajevo requesting NATO air support after refugee camps and U.N. monitoring posts are shelled.

July 9, 1995—Forces from the VRS Drina Corps surround the town of Srebrenica. President Karadžić issues a new order in which he approves the capture of Srebrenica.

July 10, 1995—The Bosnian Serbs shell Srebrenica and residents flee toward the U.N. base at Potočari.

Colonel Karremans makes an urgent request for NATO air support when Bosnian Serb forces shell his soldiers' positions. The Commander of the U.N. forces, French General Bernard Janvier, initially rejects the request, but ultimately approves the use of air strikes. In the meantime, the VRS forces stop attacking U.N. soldiers and the air attacks are postponed.

Colonel Karremans assures Bosnian Muslims that NATO airplanes will execute a major attack on Bosnian Serb troops if VRS forces are not withdrawn from the Protection Zone by 6:00 a.m. the next morning.

July 11, 1995—Bosnian Serb forces conduct extensive shelling of Srebrenica.

9:00 a.m.: Colonel Karremans is notified that his request for air support was not sub-

mitted on the correct form. At 10:30 a.m., the re-issued request reaches General Janvier. However, the NATO warplanes that have been circling Srebrenica since 6:00 a.m. are low on fuel and have to return to their base in Italy.

2:30 p.m.: NATO planes bomb Republika Srpska army tanks. The Bosnian Serb forces threaten to kill captured Dutch soldiers and shell the U.N. base in Potočari. Plans for further NATO air strikes are abandoned.

General Ratko Mladić, together with General Krstić (then Deputy Commander and Chief of Staff of the Drina Corps), General Živanović (then Commander of the Drina Corps) and other VRS officers enter Srebrenica.

8:00 p.m.: Representatives of the Bosnian Serb forces meet UNPROFOR leaders at the Hotel Fontana in the neighboring city of Bratunac. General Ratko Mladić chairs the meeting, and the two sides discuss the mounting refugee crisis.

Around 10:00 p.m.: In Srebrenica, military leaders of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and local civilians decide to form a column of men—about two thirds of which were Bosnian Muslim civilians—with the goal of escaping from Srebrenica through the mountains toward Tuzla. The column starts moving north around midnight.

11:00 p.m.: A second meeting at the Hotel Fontana results in a plan to transport Bosnian Muslim civilians out of the enclave.

July 12, 1995.—VRS General Milenko Živanović signs an order directing the Drina Corps to secure all buses and mini-buses belonging to the VRS. The Republika Srpska Defense Ministry sends three orders to its local secretariats directing them to procure buses and to send them to Bratunac.

10:00 a.m.: A third and final meeting is held at the Hotel Fontana to discuss the fate of the Srebrenica Muslims. Ratko Mladić issues an order to transport Bosnian Muslim refugees out of Potočari, stating that it is the only way to guarantee their survival. He also informs those present that all males between the ages of 16 and 70—essentially all military-aged men, (which however did not prevent boys of much younger age as well as much older men to be included in this group) must be separated from the others and screened to prevent the escape of possible "war criminals."

1:00 p.m.: Dozens of buses arrive in Potočari. Women, children, and the elderly are driven by bus from Potočari toward Tuzla, which is under the control of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Military-aged men are systematically separated out and detained in Potočari before being transferred to Bratunac.

Bosnian Serbs forces, including some military and municipal police, take positions along the Bratunac-Milići road with the intention of intercepting the column. Equipped with heavy armor and artillery, the Bosnian Serb forces open fire on the column as it crosses the road between Konjević Polja and Nova Kasaba. Many survivors of the attack are taken prisoner.

The U.N. Security Council declares that the international community is "[g]ravelly concerned at the deterioration in the situation in and around the safe area of Srebrenica, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the plight of the civilian population there."

July 13, 1995.—The evacuation of women, children, and the elderly continues. Military-aged men are separated from the refugees and transferred to Bratunac.

As many as 6,000 men from the column headed from Srebrenica to Tuzla are captured and detained by Bosnian Serb forces. Several thousand of them are brought to a field close to Sandići and to the soccer stadium in Nova Kasaba.

Bosnian Serbs begin the mass execution of Muslim detainees at sites near the Jadar River, the Cerska valley, and a warehouse in Kravica.

8:00 p.m.: The removal of the Bosnian Muslim population from Potočari is completed.

July 13-14, 1995.—Executions continue in Tišća.

July 14, 1995.—Executions continue in Orahovac.

July 14-15, 1995.—Executions continue at the Petkovići Dam.

July 16, 1995.—Executions continue at Branjevo Military Farm and the Pilića Cultural Center.

The front of the decimated column of Bosnian Muslims succeeds in reaching territory controlled by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

July 17-18, 1995.—Executions continue at Kozluk and other locations.

September-October 1995—The Bosnian Serb forces engage in a concerted effort to conceal the mass killings by exhuming bodies from mass graves, turning over the ground, and reburying human remains in smaller, remote gravesites.

EPILOGUE

Evidence presented at The Hague in the trial of Bosnian Serbs accused of war crimes established that during the month of July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces executed between seven and eight thousand Bosnian men and boys. The International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) found "beyond any reasonable doubt that a crime of genocide was committed in Srebrenica".

Immediately after the massacre, Republika Srpska President Radovan Karadžić and VRS Chief Ratko Mladić, the highest political and military leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, were indicted by the Tribunal for their roles in the Srebrenica genocide. To date, they have successfully avoided arrest. The crimes in Srebrenica are also included in the indictment against former Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milošević.

Radislav Krstić and Vidoje Blagojević, high ranking officers of the Bosnian Serb Army, have been convicted of complicity in genocide. Dragan Jokić, Deputy Commander of the Zvornik Brigade, has been convicted of crimes against humanity. General Radislav Krstić, deputy commander of the VRS Drina Corps, has been convicted of genocide. Officers Momir Nikolić and Dragan Obrenović, and the soldier Dražen Erdemović, have admitted their guilt and been convicted of crimes against humanity. Those convicted in connection with the genocide have received prison sentences ranging from five to 35 years. Dražen Erdemović, sentenced to five years in prison for the murder of at least 75 men from Srebrenica, has already been released.

Ljubiša Beara, Head of Security at the General Headquarters of the Bosnian Serb Army, has been charged with genocide and is awaiting trial.

Army and police officers Drago Nikolić, Ljubomir Borvčanin, Vinko Pandurević, and Vujadin Popović, also indicted for genocide, have surrendered to the Tribunal in The Hague and are awaiting trial. Radivoje Miletić and Milan Gvero, Generals of the Bosnian Serb Army, have surrendered to the Tribunal and are charged with expelling Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica. General Zdravko Tolimir, who is accused of the same crimes, is still at large.

The Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia used strong language to describe the Srebrenica genocide during the trial of General Radislav Krstić: "By seeking to eliminate a part of the Bosnian Muslims, the Bosnian Serb forces committed genocide. They

targeted for extinction the forty thousand Bosnian Muslims living in Srebrenica, a group which was emblematic of the Bosnian Muslims in general. They stripped all the male Muslim prisoners, military and civilian, elderly and young, of their personal belongings and identification, and deliberately and methodically killed them solely on the basis of their identity. The Bosnian Serb forces were aware, when they embarked on this genocidal venture, that the harm they caused would continue to plague the Bosnian Muslims. The Appeals Chamber states unequivocally that the law condemns, in appropriate terms, the deep and lasting injury inflicted, and calls the massacre at Srebrenica by its proper name: genocide. Those responsible will bear this stigma, and it will serve as a warning to those who may in future contemplate the commission of such a heinous act."

To date, several thousand bodies and parts of bodies from victims of the genocide have been exhumed from mass graves. So far, 1,327 of these bodies have been identified and buried in the Memorial Centre in Potočari near Srebrenica.

Of the 27,000 Bosnian Muslims who inhabited Srebrenica before the war, only a few hundred have returned to live in the city.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of our time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, first I want to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), my good friend and distinguished colleague, an indefatigable fighter for human rights across the globe, for introducing this resolution.

It is vitally important that we recall the brutal and tragic events that took place at Srebrenica in July of 1995, and seek justice as long as those responsible are still at large.

Mr. Speaker, in early July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces laid siege to the town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia where tens of thousands of Muslim civilians had taken refuge from earlier Serb offenses in the northeast.

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The United Nations attempted to extend protection to the area, and some 600 lightly armed Dutch troops were dispatched there to establish a United Nations presence.

Serbian troops stepped up shelling the town, and thousands of Muslim refugees fled ahead of the advancing Serb forces. Serb soldiers then attacked the Dutch U.N. troops and took 30 of them hostage. The Dutch commander requested NATO air strikes against the Serbian troops, but these were quickly stopped after the Serbian commander threatened to kill the Dutch captives.

The Serbs occupied the area and began separating the civilians, men to one side, women and children to the other. Women and children were transported, terrified, to Muslim territory; but all the males between the ages of 12 and 77 were held for what the Serbs cynically termed interrogation for suspected war crimes. Over the next 5 days, Bosnian Serb soldiers systematically killed over 7,000 unarmed men

and boys in the fields, schools, and warehouses around Srebrenica.

Mr. Speaker, this was the worst massacre in the bloody Bosnian war, and it was ethnic cleansing of the most horrible sort. It is important that we note not only that 10 years have passed since that horrendous crime, but what is more, that those who are guilty of this mind-boggling atrocity have not been brought to justice.

The Bosnian Serb general who commanded Serbian forces at Srebrenica, Ratko Mladic, has been indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal, but he remains at large in Serbian-controlled areas of Bosnia or in Serbia itself. Another Bosnian Serb indicted by the tribunal who also bears responsibility for the atrocities is also free in Bosnia or in Serbia. He is Radovan Karadzic, the former leader of the self-styled Republika Srpska, or the Serb-controlled territories in Bosnia.

Mr. Speaker, it is an outrage that such war criminals continue to be sheltered and protected by Serbian officials in Bosnia and in Serbia. As we solemnly mark the passage of a decade since this horrific massacre at Srebrenica, it is essential that we recommit ourselves to seek justice for the victims, well-deserved punishment for the perpetrators, and commit ourselves to take all possible action to assure that such atrocities do not again occur in Bosnia or in Rwanda or in Darfur, or indeed any place on this small planet.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this resolution, and I urge all of my colleagues to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

As we consider this resolution, I want to thank those who have worked hard to craft the text that meets various concerns and reflects the realities of Srebrenica as we know them. In particular, I want to thank the Congress of North American Bosniaks and its members for stressing the need for the United States Congress to address this issue at this time, not only for their sake but for the sake of humanity.

I also want to thank the Coalition for International Justice for providing us with background on who was indicted for crimes relating to Srebrenica by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia located at the Hague, as well as their current status.

Finally, I want to thank the chairman of the International Relations Committee, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and especially the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who is one of the cosponsors of this resolution and a great friend of human rights; and also for our friends on the Subcommittee on Europe and Emerging Threats, to which it was also referred, for working with us on helping to craft this regulation. And to the

39 cosponsors, including the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), who is the ranking member on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which I chair in the House.

Let me say, finally, Mr. Speaker, that Article 2 of the Genocide Convention, quoted in the text of this resolution, defines genocide as, "Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, such as: A, killing members of the group; B, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; C, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; E, forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Genocide is defined as the commission of acts with that intention, whether or not the acts succeed or are completed. The word "prevention" is also in the title of the Genocide Convention. While not specifying what to be done or obligating countries to do anything specific, clearly genocides must be defined as something taking place and not as something necessarily accomplished. If accomplished, it is too late to prevent it.

When I look at this definition, Mr. Speaker, and then hear what happened in Srebrenica 10 years ago, I, and I know others, can only agree with the Appeals Chamber at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which confirmed in April 2004 that the crime of summarily executing almost 8,000 men and boys at Srebrenica alone meets the legal definition of genocide.

The Appeals Chamber, in which an American is the presiding judge, concluded in its decision appealing a conviction that "the law must not shy away from referring to the crime committed by its proper name. The Appeals Chamber states unequivocally that the law condemns, in appropriate terms, the deep and lasting injury inflicted and calls the massacre," and I continue this quote, "at Srebrenica by its proper name: genocide. Those responsible will bear the stigma, and it will serve as a warning to those who may in the future contemplate the commission of such a heinous act."

The court got it right, Mr. Speaker. This resolution gets it right.

And, finally, I just want to thank the gentleman to my left, Bob Hand, who has been with the Commission on Security and Cooperation now since 1983 and who first came as an intern, for his diligence in crafting major portions of this legislation. I want to thank him for his work and his attention to detail. He is also the staff specialist for the commission on all the areas of the former Yugoslavia and Albania, and I am deeply grateful for his work as well.

And Dan Freeman, our expert parliamentarian, to my rear, I want to thank him for his work as well.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and urge my colleague to vote for its passage.

Article 2 of the Genocide Convention, quoted in the text of this resolution, defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group". Genocide is defined as the commission of acts with that intention whether or not the acts succeed or are completed. The word "prevention" is also in the title of the Genocide Convention. While not specifying what could be done or obligating countries to do any specific thing, clearly genocide must be defined as something taking place and not as something necessarily accomplished. If accomplished, it is too late to prevent it.

When I look at this definition and then hear what happened in Srebrenica 10 years ago, I can only agree with the Appeals Chamber at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which confirmed in April 2004 that the crime of summarily executing almost 8,000 men and boys at Srebrenica alone meets the legal definition of genocide. The Appeals Chamber, in which an American is the presiding judge, concluded in a decision appealing a conviction that "the law must not shy away from referring to the crime committed by its proper name The Appeals Chamber states unequivocally that the law condemns, in appropriate terms, the deep and lasting injury inflicted, and calls the massacre at Srebrenica by its proper name: genocide. Those responsible will bear this stigma, and it will serve as a warning to those who may in the future contemplate the commission of such a heinous act."

Twenty-three people have been indicted for genocide by the Hague. Regardless of individual guilt or innocence, the acceptance of the legitimacy of the charges is a recognition that genocide occurred. Indeed, if it is accepted that Srebrenica itself was genocide, then we must consider the 20–30,000 non-Serbs killed in the Prijedor region, which gets less attention mostly because it took place over a 6-month period rather than a week, especially given that the crime was committed perhaps by some of the same people and certainly under the same command. Similarly, we must consider the more than 10,000 killed and 50,000 wounded by the sniper fire and an average of over 300 shells per day fired into the city Sarajevo in the more than 3-year siege of that city—a crime again committed by perhaps some of the same people and certainly under the same command. We must consider what happened in Foca and Brcko. When we add all these and other places together, we must conclude that genocide occurred.

This, of course, does not mean that Serbs were not also victimized, nor does it mean that all Serbs are somehow guilty for what has been done in their name. But today, it is entirely appropriate that we focus on what happened in Srebrenica, and to put Srebrenica in the context of the larger Bosnian conflict. It is also an important time to urge the authorities in Belgrade, who have made considerable progress this year, to finally complete their cooperation with the tribunal. Serbia must trans-

fer Ratko Mladic and other at-large indictees to the Hague immediately, so that this issue no longer holds Serbia back from taking on a more prominent role in Europe.

I urge my colleagues to support the passage of this important resolution.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this important Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the massacre at Srebrenica in July 1995.

This summer is the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, which established principles to be followed by participating states that include respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Helsinki Final Act and the conference it established have since been institutionalized in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, or OSCE. This multilateral diplomatic effort was taken seriously by both Republican and Democratic Administrations over the years, and it helped tremendously in ending the Cold War division of Europe and in giving millions upon millions of people freedom from communist repression.

Those of us who have had the privilege to serve on the U.S. Helsinki Commission can recall the powerful impact the Helsinki Final Act had, as well as the hard work and sacrifice that helped bring its ideals so much closer to reality. Some of us, indeed, will be commemorating the OSCE's achievements in about 1 week when the Organization's Parliamentary Assembly convenes here in Washington.

One cannot honestly and credibly assess the accomplishments of the Helsinki Final Act, however, without taking note of the greatest single violation of its provisions in those three decades. Srebrenica undoubtedly is that single greatest violation. Eight thousand men and boys, maybe more, were executed and thrown into mass graves. Their bodies continue to be exhumed and identified to this day. The surviving victims continue to feel the pain from the loss of their loved ones.

This tragedy is compounded by the truly horrifying fact that it could have been prevented. Indeed, it should have been prevented. For 2 years, Srebrenica was designated by the United Nations as a "safe area." Attacks upon it were not to be tolerated. It was protected by U.N. peacekeepers. Yet, for months Serb forces prevented humanitarian convoys from entering Srebrenica; even the Dutch peacekeeping contingent was rendered ineffective by its isolation. When the Serb forces attacked, the air strikes necessary to repel them never came. The United Nations and its member states were not at all helpless, but they were indecisive and feckless in the face of clear aggression.

Many of us in the Congress at the time appealed for decisive action. Even after documenting the policy of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia since 1992, we admittedly did not know the scale and horrific nature of the acts to follow, but we certainly knew something evil was about to occur in Srebrenica. And it did occur, due to the simple fact that it was allowed to occur.

We can, if we choose, find some silver linings in that experience. For the first time since World War II, individuals have been held to account for their crimes, including genocide, before an international tribunal. NATO operated "out of area," setting a stage for broadening the scope of the alliance to support the

interests of its members in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Within months of Srebrenica, the international community under U.S. leadership at least restored a peace to Bosnia that, despite problems, has lasted to this day.

It is, however, with deep regret that such advances in international relations came at such a heavy price to so many innocent people. It is a price which Srebrenica survivors continue to pay as Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic remain at large and as so many people continue to deny the massacre even took place. The least that the international community can do to ease their pain is to ensure that the realities of Srebrenica are acknowledged as genocide, to vow that they never happen again, and this time to mean it.

I therefore call upon my colleague to support this important resolution.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, as Chairman of the Congressional Serbian Caucus, and a long-time champion of human rights, I was pleased to work with Chairman SMITH to bring this important resolution to the House Floor; and I thank the Chairman and his staff, particularly Bob Hand, for their hard work. Nevertheless, despite all of our efforts, at the end of the day I still have a few small concerns over the resolution's wording.

Let me be perfectly clear though. The Srebrenica Massacre was a horrible event in world history that should never have occurred, should never be condoned, and should never be accepted by the international community. It was a truly horrifying experience and scarring for all those involved, from those directly participating in the slaughter, to those who sat idly by while the killing took place. Now, almost 10 years later, it is only appropriate for this House to pause and remember the victims of this horrendous crime and pledge anew that such atrocities will never happen again.

But, this Resolution misses the mark by singling out only one group for condemnation. This House, as well as the leaders of the Balkans, should speak unequivocally and with one voice to condemn all the atrocities that occurred during the Balkan Wars of the 1990s on all sides; whether committed by Serb, Croat or Bosnian. Furthermore, this House should encourage all parties in the region to renew their commitments to fully comply with all international treaties and regulations, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, by handing over all outstanding war criminals. For only then can the region, as a whole, move forward to a more peaceful, stable, and democratic Trans-Atlantic future, with eventual membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union.

Once again, I commend my colleague, Chairman SMITH for bringing this issue before the House. I wish we had been able to strike an understanding on some of the broader issues but I still believe that House Resolution 199 has great merit and I vote "aye."

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISSA). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 199, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of

those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

URGING ALBANIA TO ENSURE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD ON JULY 3, 2005, ARE IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 155) urging the Government of the Republic of Albania to ensure that the parliamentary elections to be held on July 3, 2005, are conducted in accordance with international standards for free and fair elections.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 155

Whereas the United States maintains strong and friendly relations with the Republic of Albania and appreciates the ongoing support of the people of Albania;

Whereas the President of Albania has called for elections to Albania's parliament, known as the People's Assembly, to be held on July 3, 2005;

Whereas Albania is one of 55 participating States in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), all of which have adopted the 1990 Copenhagen Document containing specific commitments relating to the conduct of elections;

Whereas these commitments, which encourage transparency, balance, and impartiality in an election process, have become the standard by which observers determine whether elections have been conducted freely and fairly;

Whereas, though improvements over time have been noted, the five multiparty parliamentary elections held in Albania between 1991 and 2001, as well as elections for local offices held between and after those years, fell short of the standards in the Copenhagen Document to varying degrees, according to OSCE and other observers;

Whereas with OSCE and other international assistance, the Government of Albania has improved the country's electoral and legal framework and enhanced the capacity to conduct free and fair elections;

Whereas subsequent to the calling of elections, Albania's political parties have accepted a code of conduct regarding their campaign activities, undertaking to act in accordance with the law, to refrain from inciting violence or hatred in the election campaign, and to be transparent in disclosing campaign funding; and

Whereas meeting the standards in the Copenhagen Document for free and fair elections is absolutely essential to Albania's desired integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, including full membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as to Albania's progress in addressing official corruption and combating organized crime: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress—

(1) welcomes the opportunity for the Republic of Albania to demonstrate its willingness and preparedness to take the next steps in European and Euro-Atlantic integration by holding parliamentary elections on July 3, 2005, that meet the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) standards for free and fair elections as defined in the 1990 Copenhagen Document;

(2) firmly believes that the citizens of Albania, like all people, should be able to choose their own representatives in parliament and government in free and fair elections, and to hold these representatives accountable through elections at reasonable intervals;

(3) supports commitments by Albanian political parties to adhere to a basic code of conduct for campaigning and urges such parties and all election officials in Albania to adhere to laws relating to the elections, and to conduct their activities in an impartial and transparent manner, by allowing international and domestic observers to have unobstructed access to all aspects of the election process, including public campaign events, candidates, news media, voting, and post-election tabulation of results and processing of election challenges and complaints;

(4) supports assistance by the United States to help the people of Albania establish a fully free and open democratic system, a prosperous free market economy, and its rightful place in European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); and

(5) encourages the President to communicate to the Government of Albania, to all political parties and candidates, and to the people of Albania the high importance attached by the Government of the United States to this parliamentary election as a central factor in determining the future relationship between the United States and Albania.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, 14 years ago, Albania was just emerging from decades of brutal isolation from Europe when they held their first genuinely contested elections in 1991. Not surprisingly, they fell short of the standards for free and fair elections as defined by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, or OSCE, as did subsequent elections for parliament and local government. The United States and other friends of Albania, however, remained engaged with the Albanian people throughout their turbulent transition.

Today, Albania is at the point where the country can actually hold free and fair elections, something the citizens of that country deeply deserve. Parliamentary elections have been scheduled, as Members of this House know, for July 3, and the campaign period is well underway. Staff in the U.S. Helsinki Commission, which I co-chair, will be serving on the international observation mission. Albania has come far in reforming its election process and through these elections has the opportunity to jump a major hurdle not

only towards completion of its transition to democracy, but in preparing for integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

There is good reason to remain concerned, however, that the elections will fall short of international standards. The good things that have been adopted, such as the Code of Conduct adopted by key political parties, may not be carried out. The OSCE's election observer mission has reported receiving an increased number of allegations of legal misuse of state resources and personnel for campaign purposes. If found to be true, those engaged in this activity would be responsible for what would be regarded as a tremendous setback for the country.

Hopefully, by passing this resolution, we can encourage Albanian authorities to respect the rule of law, to abide by their Code of Conduct, and respect the results of the upcoming election. When my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), and I first introduced this resolution, it was with the expectation the U.S. Congress could constructively make a difference by calling on the authorities, political parties, and others to do the right thing so that the real winners in the elections will be the people of Albania who make the effort to vote.

Finally, I am hopeful these elections will meet international standards, because that is one of the first steps Albania will need to take on the path to full Euro-Atlantic integration.

The new Albanian government will also need to tackle problems relating to official corruption and organized crime. Fortunately, beyond a good election process, we must see the development of civil society in Albania, with the youth groups and others pressing elected officials to address the every day problems that plague the lives of Albanian citizens.

I hope my colleagues will support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I rise in strong support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, (Mr. SMITH), and our colleague on the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), for introducing this excellent resolution urging free and fair elections in Albania. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, it was 15 years ago this month that I had the privilege of being the first American Government official to set foot in Albania after a 44-year hiatus. At that time, Albania was taking its first halting steps to end a half a century of Communist dictatorship and self-imposed international isolation.

Wherever I traveled throughout the country, from formal meetings with